

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 3972

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, PO, US
SUBJ: SOARES MEETING WITH SECRETARY

SUMMARY: FONMIN SOARES TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT IN MEETING WITH SECRETARY HE WILL MAKE PLEA FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ON GROUNDS THAT U.S. HELP NEEDED TO FORESTALL AN ECONOMIC CRISIS. SOARES FEARS THAT USSR AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES READY TO PROFFER AID IF WEST DOES NOT AND THIS WILL BENEFIT COMMUNIST PARTY HERE WITH ELECTIONS IN OFFING. RENEWAL OF BASE AGREEMENT IS NOT AT ISSUE. HOWEVER, LAJES BASE NEGOTIATION SEEN BY SOARES AS USEFUL VEHICLE FOR U.S. TO PROVIDE AND JUSTIFY AID. END SUMMARY

1. AT SEPTEMBER 13 LUNCH WITH AMBASSADOR, FOREIGN MINISTER MARIO SOARES OUTLINED THRUST OF WHAT HE INTENDS TO SAY WHEN HE MEETS WITH SECRETARY ON SEPTEMBER 17 IN WASHINGTON. SOARES EXPECTS TO MAKE STRONG PLEA FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM U.S. HE WILL EXPLAIN TO SECRETARY THAT PORTUGAL'S DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION LIKELY REACH CRISIS IN OCTOBER WITH RETURN OF TROOPS FROM GUINEA-BISSAU, PROBABLE RETURN OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF EMIGRANT WORKERS AS RECESSION HITS EUROPE, AGGRAVATED UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CONTINUING PROBLEM OF INFLATION.

2. SOARES FEARS THAT THIS ECONOMIC CRISIS WILL
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GIVE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GAINING

A POSITION OF INFLUENCE IN PORTUGAL. SOARES EXPECTS THAT COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER AND MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO ALVARO CUNHAL WILL ATTEMPT TAKE MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE OF DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION BY ANNOUNCING OFFERS OF AID FROM USSR AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. IF OTHER MEANS TO MEET CRISIS NOT THEN AVAILABLE, GOP WOULD BE HARD PUT TO TURN DOWN CUNHAL. ALTHOUGH PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP) NOW LAGGING WELL BEHIND SOARES' SOCIALIST PARTY (PS) IN PRIVATE POLLS AND, SOARES THINKS, HAS REACHED ITS NATURAL LIMIT AT 18 PERCENT OF POLLED ELECTORATE (AGAINST 25 FOR PS, 8 FOR CENTER-LEFT PPD AND REST UNDECIDED), LARGE-SCALE AID FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES FOR PORTUGAL DURING TIME OF ECONOMIC TROUBLES COULD WELL GIVE PCP DECIDED BOOST TO DISADVANTAGE OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WITH ELECTIONS JUST AROUND THE CORNER.

3. SOARES SAID THAT HE DOES NOT PLAN TO ENTER INTO DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS ON AZORES WITH SECRETARY, WHICH WILL BE LEFT TO TECHNICAL TEAM. HOWEVER, HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS ALONG ABOVE LINES. HE HOPES FOR INDICATION FROM SECRETARY THAT U.S. WILL BE WILLING USE AZORES AGREEMENT AS MECHANISM FOR PROVIDING AID TO RESCUE PORTUGAL FROM IMPENDING ECONOMIC CRISIS.

4. SOARES WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO INSIST THAT HE WAS NOT RAISING POSSIBLE COMMUNIST AID AS BLACKMAIL FOR AZORES AGREEMENT. HE TOOK SPECIFIC ISSUE WITH A JUNIOR PS OFFICIAL WHO IN RECENT PUBLIC MEETING ARGUED FOR END TO AZORES BASE AGREEMENT AND PORTUGAL'S DEPARTURE FROM NATO: SOARES STATED FLATLY THAT RENEWAL OF BASE AGREEMENT NOT RPT NOT AT ISSUE BUT WAS ON CONTRARY ASSURED BY COMMITMENT IN PROGRAM OF ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT THAT NEW PORTUGAL WOULD HONOR EXISTING INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

5. COMMENT: THERE IS GROWING FEELING HERE OF DISILLUSIONMENT TOWARD U.S. MORE LIBERAL ELEMENTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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RECALLING THAT U.S. WAS VIRTUALLY ONLY RESPECTABLE FRIEND CAETANO GOVERNMENT STILL HAD ON EVE OF COUP, ARE CONCLUDING THAT U.S. PREFERRED OLD REGIME AND IS WITHHOLDING ITS SUPPORT TO NEW REGIME IN HOPE IT WILL FOUNDER, THEREBY ENABLING GROUP MORE TO U.S. LIKING (I.E. REACTIONARY) TO TAKE OVER POWER. MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS FEEL THAT U.S., THROUGH INACTION, IS PERMITTING COMMUNISTS TO

CONSOLIDATE THEMSELVES INTO EVER MORE POWERFUL POSITION. SOARES, WHO IS ABOVE ALL A PRAGMATIST, DOES NOT APPEAR TO SHARE EITHER OF THESE EXTREME VIEWS IN THAT HE NEITHER DISTRUSTS THE U.S. TO THE EXTENT OF THE FIRST NOR CREDITS THE COMMUNISTS WITH AS MUCH STRENGTH AS THE SECOND. NONETHELESS, HE RECOGNIZES THAT THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL TODAY IS A DELICATE ONE AND THAT, IF IT DOES NOT SOON BECOME CLEAR THAT PORTUGAL CAN RELY UPON THE WESTERN DEMOCRATIC WORLD TO ENABLE IT TO TAKE ITS PROPER PLACE IN THAT WORLD, THE UNDECIDED HALF OF THE ELECTORATE MAY BE SWAYED BY "FRIEND IN NEED" TYPE BLANDISHMENTS FROM THE EAST.

6. SOARES THUS LOOKS UPON THE AZORES NEGOTIATIONS AS AN ASSET FOR THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FORCES IN PORTUGAL. HE ASSUMES THAT THE U.S. IS INDEED FAVORABLY INCLINED TO THE NEW PORTUGAL, WHICH HAS IMPLEMENTED LONG-ARGUED U.S. VIEWS WITH REGARD TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA, AS WELL AS HAVING ADOPTED AN INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY COMPATIBLE WITH THE U.S. SYSTEM. HE CLEARLY HOPES THAT THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO ASSIST PORTUGAL TO OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES CAUSED BY ADOPTION OF THESE POLICIES. WHAT HE NOW SEEMS TO BE ANXIOUS TO HEAR IS THAT THE U.S. LOOKS UPON THE AZORES NEGOTIATIONS AS PROVIDING THE MECHANISM THROUGH WHICH THE U.S., EVEN IN A PERIOD OF DECLINE OF FOREIGN AID, CAN SECURE THE DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR PROVIDING THE MEANS TO PREVENT ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND STRENGTHEN ANTI-COMMUNIST POLITICAL FORCES IN PORTUGAL. ARMED WITH A STATEMENT ALONG THESE LINES BY THE SECRETARY, SOARES PRESUMABLY WOULD HOPE TO CONVINCE HIS CABINET

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COLLEAGUES AND EVENTUALLY THE WIDER PUBLIC THAT PORTUGAL'S DESTINY LIES WITH THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE, AND THE NON-COMMUNIST PORTUGUESE POLITICAL PARTIES, AND NOT ELSEWHERE.

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